

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 02164

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UNGA
SUBJECT: SSOD: WESTERN MEETING ON DECLARATION ON
DISARMAMENT, MAY 24

1. UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR HARRY,
TWELVE WESTERN STATES MET INFORMALLY MAY 24 ON REMAINING
BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT AND TO
HEAR UK PROPOSALS FOR CHANGES IN CURRENTLY UNBRACKETED
PORTION OF TEXT.

2. UK REP SAID LONDON HAD REACTED FAIRLY STRONGLY AGAINST
TONE OF DOCUMENT, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE "LACK OF
BALANCE" AND THE PREOCCUPATION IN DRAFT ON THE NEED FOR
PROGRESS ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT COMPARED TO RATHER BRIEF
MENTION OF CONVENTIONAL SIDE. HE SAID LONDON'S VIEW WAS
THAT WEST SHOULD MAKE EFFORT TO REVISE TEXT. HE HAD
REDRAFTED SEVERAL SECTIONS WHICH HE PROMISED TO MAKE
AVAILABLE IN A FEW DAYS, BUT SAID HE HAD NO SPECIFIC
"FIXES" REGARDING THE DOCUMENT AS IT NOW STOOD.

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3. US AND FRG DELS INDICATED THEIR SYMPATHY FOR LONDON'S
VIEWS AND SAID THESE SENTIMENTS WERE ALSO SHARED IN THEIR
RESPECTIVE CAPITALS. US DEL NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT ITS
MAJOR PROBLEMS WERE WITH THE PRINCIPLES SECTION, PARTI-
CULARLY THE NEED TO DELETE SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS WHICH MIGHT
BE TREATED MORE APPROPRIATELY IN OTHER SECTIONS OF THE
DOCUMENT. MOREOVER, US NOTED THAT, DESPITE CERTAIN

PROBLEMS WITH CURRENTLY UNBRACKETED LANGUAGES IN DECLARATION, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE TACTICALLY UNWISE TO INTRODUCE BRAND NEW TEXT AT THIS POINT. GROUP THEN PROCEEDED TO PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH DISCUSSION OF TEXT; HIGHLIGHTS OF DISCUSSION FOLLOW, AND SHOULD BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH ANNOTATED VERSION OF TEXT.

4. PREAMBLE

UK REP SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROBLEMS WITH PHRASES "...TO THE VERY SURVIVAL OF MANKIND," IN FIRST PARAGRAPH, AND PHRASES, "...THUS FACILITATING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER," IN PARA 2 OF THE PREAMBLE. NO OTHER DELS AT MEETING EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS REGARDING PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE. UK IS EXPECTED TO SUGGEST ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPHS TO HELP BALANCE PREAMBLE. COMMENT : IN LATER DISCUSSION MALLABY OF UK DEL TOLD US REP THAT UK DID NOT PLAN TO TABLE THEIR LANGUAGE EARLY BUT TO WORK FOR CHANGES IN CURRENT TEXT AND HOLD THEIR REVISIONS IN RESERVE FOR LATER TRADE-OFFS.

5. REVIEW AND APPRAISAL

(A) PARA 1. BOTH UK AND AUSTRALIA INDICATED CONTINUING STRONG RESERVATIONS RE NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE, CURRENTLY BRACKETED BY EAST, VIZ., "FAILURE TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IS A MAJOR CONFIDENTIAL

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FACTOR INCREASING THE DANGER OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS." THIS SENTENCE IS REGARDED BY THE UK AS NOTHING LESS THAN A THREAT, AND IS THEREFORE CONSIDERED UNACCEPTABLE. SIMILAR ARGUMENTS APPLY TO PAKISTANI LANGUAGE AT END OF PARA 1.

(B) PARA 2. NON-ALIGNED AND WESTERN TEXT IS PREFERABLE IN FIRST SENTENCE, I.E., "...COMBINED WITH RIVALRY AMONG MAJOR POWERS ON A GLOBAL SCALE," RATHER THAN EASTERN TEXT, "THE ACTIONS OF THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT AND THE INTERESTS OF THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX."

(C) PARA 3. AUSTRALIA WILL SUPPORT US ALTERNATIVE TO FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 3.

(D) PARAS 4 AND 5. NO WESTERN PROBLEMS WITH THESE PARAGRAPHS.

(E) PARA 6. IN ORDER TO AVOID EITHER REFERENCE TO ALLIANCES IN FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 6, AUSTRALIA WILL SUGGEST THAT FOLLOWING PHRASES BE DELETED : "...THE HIGHEST

PERCENTAGE OF WHICH CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES AND BEGIN BRACKET THEIR ALLIES END BRACKET BEGIN BRACKET MAJOR MILITARY ALLIANCES END BRACKET." AND, AT THE END OF THE SENTENCE..."IN THE EXPENDITURES OF OTHER COUNTRIES." THERE WAS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THESE SUGGESTIONS.

(F) PARA 7. AUSTRALIA WILL ALSO SUGGEST DELETION OF ALL LANGUAGE IN BRACKETS TOWARDS END OF PARA 7, IN ORDER TO AVOID CONTENTIOUS DISCUSSION OVER TREATMENT OF LACK OF NEGOTIATIONS ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT OVER LAST

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DECADE. THERE WAS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THIS SUGGESTION.

(G) PARA 8. THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION ON PARA 8. THE WESTERN STATES CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST SENTENCE SHOULD SERVE AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST PARA OF THE REVIEW AND APPRAISAL SECTION, AND WOULD LIKE TO DELETE OR MODIFY THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 8.

6. GOALS AND PRIORITIES

(A) PARA 1. NO COMMENTS.

(B) PARA 2. ONLY RELEVANT COMMENT WAS SUPPORT FROM AUSTRALIA FOR US ALTERNATIVE. OTHERS BELIEVED THAT, WHILE US LANGUAGE IS PREFERABLE, IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR PREDOMINANTLY NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE CURRENTLY

FORMING BASIS OF PARA 2. (NOTE : SINCE US AND AUSTRALIA BOTH WISH TO DELETE PARA 12 OF PRINCIPLES SECTION SEE BELOW, WHICH ALSO DEALS WITH PRIORITY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, A POSSIBLE TRADE-OFF MAY BE TO DELETE PARA 12 OF PRINCIPLES IN EXCHANGE FOR NON-ALIGNED VERSION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PARA 2 IN GOALS AND PRIORITIES.)

(C) PARA 3. NO COMMENT, AGREED TEXT.

(D) PARAS (4 OR 5), (5 OR 4). MOST WESTERN DELS WOULD PREFER PARA (5 OR 4) TO COME BEFORE PARA (4 OR 5), I.E., THAT "...LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, INCLUDING THE...INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF SUCH WEAPONS..." SHOULD COME BEFORE PARA ON "INHUMANE" WEAPONS. HOWEVER, THIS MAY NOT BE IMPORTANT ENOUGH POINT TO EXPEND POLITICAL CAPITAL ON. IN ANY EVENT, US DEL WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER GUIDANCE ON ACCEPTABILITY OF CURRENT DRAFT OF PARA (4 OR 5) VIZ., "FURTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO PROHIBIT OR RESTRICT FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS THE USE OF...CERTAIN CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS WHICH MAY BE DEEMED TO BE EXCESSIVELY INJURIOUS OR TO HAVE INDISCRIMINATE EFFECTS." US LANGUAGE WOULD INSERT PHRASE, "INCLUDING ANY" BEFORE "WHICH MAY BE DEEMED," US DEL HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO DETERMINE WHETHER WE WILL INSIST ON THIS INSERTION. ALSO, PLEASE CLARIFY WHETHER US DEL SHOULD INSIST ON PHRASE "...OR CAUSE UNNECESSARY SUFFERING."

(E) PARA 6. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG WESTERN DELS THAT SPECIFIC COLLATERAL AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, SUCH AS THOSE CURRENTLY IN BRACKETS IN PARA 6, SHOULD BE DELETED FROM GOALS AND PRIORITIES SECTION AND SHOULD BE TREATED ONLY IN PROGRAM OF ACTION. WE KNOW EAST WILL AGREE TO THIS AND HOPE NON-ALIGNED CAN CONVINCE MEXICO, ROMANIA AND PAKISTAN ALSO TO ACCEPT.

7. PRINCIPLES

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(A) PARA 1. IDEALLY, WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE FIRST PRINCIPLE PARA END IN MIDDLE OF LINE 2, AFTER "PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER," THEREBY DELETING ALL LANGUAGE IN BRACKETS. IN ADDITION, IRELAND STRONGLY SUGGESTS

INSERTION OF WORDS, "THE PURPOSES," AFTER "...THEIR COMMITMENT TO..." AND BEFORE "...AND STRICT OBSERVANCE OF IN THE FIRST SENTENCE. THE ARGUMENT IS THAT ARTICLE 1 OF THE UN CHARTER DEALS WITH "PURPOSES" AND INCLUDES REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES GENERALLY SEEK TO IGNORE. ARTICLE 2 DEALS WITH "PRINCIPLES," AMONG WHICH EASTERN STATES TEND TO BE QUITE SELECTIVE. IN GENERAL, IRELAND WOULD LIKE TO SEE "PURPOSES" REFERRED TO WHENEVER REFERENCE IS MADE TO "PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER."

(B) PARA 2. IDEALLY PARA 2 SHOULD ALSO STOP AT THE END OF THE FIRST SENTENCE, ALTHOUGH MOST DELS SAID THEY WERE WILLING TO LIVE WITH THE SECOND SENTENCE, WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH KEEPING THE UNGA INFORMED OF STEPS BEING TAKEN IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THOSE NEGOTIATIONS.

(C) PARA 3. ONLY COMMENT WAS NEEDED TO PRESERVE THE TERM "APPROPRIATE" IN DISCUSSING PARTICIPATION OF STATES IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

(D) PARAS 4 AND 5. NO COMMENTS.

(E) PARA 6. US DEL WAS PUT ON NOTICE THAT IT WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE ALSO FROM WESTERN STATES TO AGREE TO DELETION OF BRACKETS IN SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH ON VERIFICATION REGARDING FORM AND MODALITIES OF VERIFICATION ON SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS, SO THAT PORTION OF SENTENCE WOULD READ, BEGINNING WITH BRACKETED PHRASE : "AND SHOULD ALLOW FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION

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(DELETE "OF ALL PARTIES"), DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THE UN SYSTEM, IN THE VERIFICATION PROCESS AND FOR THE RIGHT TO ACCESS TO ALL RELEVANT INFORMATION." US DEL REQUESTS INSTRUCTIONS ON WHETHER IT COULD AGREE TO SUCH A SENTENCE, PARTICULARLY LAST TEN WORDS.

(F) PARA 7. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT PARA 7, ON SECURITY ASSURANCES, SHOULD BE DELETED FROM PRINCIPLES SECTION. US DEL INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT WE MAY BE FORCED TO ACCEPT AT LEAST SOME REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR SUCH ASSURANCES. UK DEL SUGGESTED FOLLOWING ANODYNE SOLUTION: "STATES SHOULD ADHERE TO THEIR SOLEMN UNDERTAKING IN THE UN CHARTER TO REFRAIN IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE."

(G) PARA 8. THERE IS A SIMILAR AGREEMENT THAT PARA 8, NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONES AND ZONES OF PEACE SHOULD BE DELETED IN PRINCIPLES SECTION AND TREATED ONLY IN PROGRAM OF ACTION. US/SOVIET BRACKETS ON ENTIRE PARAGRAPH WILL THEREFORE REMAIN PENDING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN WORKING CONFIDENTIAL

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GROUPS.

(H) PARA 9. NO COMMENTS.

(I) PARA 10 ON DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT NEEDS A GOOD DEAL OF WORK. AGREEMENT ON FIRST TWO SENTENCES SHOULD BE EASY TO ACHIEVE. MEXICAN SUGGESTION FOR THIRD SENTENCE WILL, HOPEFULLY, BE DROPPED SINCE CONCEPT OF "DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DISARMAMENT" DOES NOT HAVE EVEN NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT. US DEL ASSUMES USG CAN SUPPORT FOLLOWING FOURTH SENTENCE : "THEREFORE, RESOURCES RELEASED AS A RESULT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DISARMAMENT MEASURES SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALL NATIONS AND HELP TO BRIDGE THE ECONOMIC GAP BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES."

8. PARA 11. NON-PROLIFERATION. THERE IS AS YET NO HINT OF MUTUALLY AGREEABLE LANGUAGE ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION PEACEFUL USES PARAGRAPH IN THE PRINCIPLES SECTION. AUSTRALIANS CIRCULATED FOLLOWING DRAFT OF A PROPOSED COMPROMISE TEXT FOR THIS PARAGRAPH. "AGREED INTERNATIONAL MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH

THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL STATES, WITHOUT
DISCRIMINATION, TO DEVELOP OR ACQUIRE NUCLEAR MATERIALS,
EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THE EFFECT
OF THE WIDESPREAD APPLICATION OF SUCH MEASURES SHOULD BE TO
FACILITATE THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERA-
TION BETWEEN STATES, IN PARTICULAR ACCESS TO NUCLEAR
SUPPLIES, SERVICES AND TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES.
SUCH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION UNDER AGREED AND APPRO-
PRIATE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS APPLIED THROUGH THE IAEA
ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY
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TO THE REALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES.

US DEL BELIEVES AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE IS A USEFUL CONTRIBU-
TION. WE BELIEVE OUR OWN PROPOSAL, OFFERED DURING THE
FIFTH PREPCOM, WOULD ALSO BE AN ACCEPTABLE, AND
POSSIBLY MORE FORTHCOMING SOLUTION, VIZ.:

"MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE
INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL STATES, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION,
TO BE FREE TO DEVELOP OR ACQUIRE THE NECESSARY NUCLEAR
TECHNOLOGY, EQUIPMENT AND MATERIALS FOR THE PEACEFUL USE
OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, BEARING IN MIND THE NEED TO PREVENT THE
PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO
FACILITATE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD CAN AND
SHOULD BE TAKEN AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL AND THROUGH INTER-
NATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO MINIMIZE THE DANGER OF THE PROLIFER-
ATIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. SUCH INTER-
NATIONAL COOPERATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED UNDER AGREED
AND APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS APPLIED THROUGH
THE IAEA ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS."

US DEL WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER GUIDANCE ON LANGUAGE FOR
THIS PARAGRAPH.

9. (A) PARA 12. AS NOTED ABOVE, PARA 6 (B), THERE IS
GENERAL AGREEMENT PARA 12 SHOULD BE DELETED, AND TREATED
ONLY IN GOALS AND PRIORITIES SECTION.

(B) PARA 13. NO COMMENT, WESTERN LANGUAGE IN BRACKETS IS
PREFERRED.

(C) PARA 14: THIS PARA OO QUALITATIVE RESTRICTIONS, WILL
REQUIRE REVISIONS IN ORDER TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR WESTERN
DELS TO ACCEPT. US SUGGESTED VERB "MUST" IN SECOND SEN-
TENCE BE REPLACED BY "SHOULD." UK SUGGESTED WORK "EVEN-
TUALLY" BE INSERTED DIRECTLY AFTER "SHOULD OR MUST" IN

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SECOND SENTENCE. AUSTRALIA SUGGESTED "EVENTUAL CESSATION"
REPLACE "AND PREVENTION" WHICH IS NOW BRACKETED BY
WEST.

(D) PARAS 15-18 WERE NOT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. NONE IS
CONSIDERED CRUCIAL, AND ALL WOULD BE GOOD CANDIDATES FOR
DELETION. PARA 15 MAY BE UNACCEPTABLE IN ANY FORM TO
NON-ALIGNED. PARA 16 IS UNACCEPTABLE IN ALMOST ANY FORM
TO US. PARA 17 IS COMPLETELY REDUNDANT. PARA 18 SEEMS
UNNECESSARY AS AN INDEPENDENT PRINCIPLE AND IS COVERED IN
PREAMBLE.

10. US DEL WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE
ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED. YOUNG

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